123 /8 cont./ one in a modern city where an investigation is carried out. As far as obtaining writing materials, medicine, photographic materials, and the like is concerned, the difficulties are inconsiderable. But the manner of living, as always, presents challenges. A house of one's own has the advantage of privacy. But there is no empty house to be found in the kampong. To have one constructed meets with objections: it costs extra work and extra money, since building, after all, is not only a question of materials, manpower, and technology, but also one of organization. When I was by myself I always stayed with the head of the adat community in his kampong, or else with my most important informant in Bontoramba.

Being a guest has the advantage that it is easier to provide for oneself. I always ate the menu of my host. During the month of fasting I received a meal apart. Payment for lodgings is never possible; presents are understood; medicine, kajuputih oil, periodicals with illustrations, and photos of members of the household were always welcome as such. There was always room for a cot with a mosquito net, as well as for a writing table and chair; an enclosure created a mandi /bathing/ place and a toilet. Taking lodgings has the further advantage that one takes part in the life of the household without having been expressly invited.

I lived in a house of my own with my wife and daughter for a brief period before the war. In a society such as the [562] one I was dealing with, possessing, as it does, a strict separation of the sexes, I repeatedly obtained data from my wife which otherwise would decidedly have escaped me.

/9/ The lack of privacy is one of the reasons why life in the kampong is extremely tiring for the investigator. It is quite possible to abandon habits if one only knows which. But whoever believes that he can then go on living without adat is in error. To find out the sensitive points is one of the most important activities of the first period, and during the first few weeks it is advisable, therefore, not to do much else but

123 /9 cont./ to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar [554 country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his 576] conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud [517 talking and laughing really occur only when several men are 555] together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I 123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I 574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls [562 and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as 576] greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

593 /25 cont./ 1. Talking back is referred to as nipolongi erona, "his wishes are crossed," or anempa bawa karaëng, "to slap the mouth of the master."

listening to what his father says and by answering in general, well-chosen phrases when the father is addressed. In practice the answers which a son gives are brief because he is afraid of not being able to satisfy such obligations, and of making a mistake, which might be regarded as impolite or result in ridicule. A son above the age of fourteen accordingly does not like to be in the company of his father; the relationship is too stiff for this. When his father comes in, he disappears as quickly as possible while mumbling some excuse. When a [574] father visits his married son, the latter will call his wife or his little son. The conversation then continues through them. Important matters, such as the marriage of his daughter, may be discussed by a father with his (married) son. This, too, is a conversation held in a formal tone. But this conversation merely establishes what has already been previously discussed by the father in informal conversations with his wife or his daughter-in-law.

The same relationship can be observed between brothers. Here the older one must be obeyed by the younger. Between them the opposition is greater; the older one tries to keep the leadership; the younger, especially if his personal qualities give him the opportunity to do so, tries to avoid his brother's authority. Their relationship is also stiff. The consequence is that unmarried sons in general, and unmarried younger brothers in particular, spend a great deal of time outside the house.

This does not apply to the relationship between mother and daughter, or to that between sisters. Since younger women are [562] dependent on house and grounds and away from these can only go about in company, a similar solution would not be realistic in practice.

592 602 /31 cont./ By way of summary it can be stated that 40 of these 61 /32/ are first- or second-degree relatives of the basal married couple, and that 52 of the 61 are first-, second-, or third-degree relatives.

The conclusion therefore is that in the majority of cases a house is occupied by one family, that in general only unmarried, older and younger, kinsmen are taken into the house, and that more distant kinsmen (fourth degree and further removed) are only taken in if they have no close relatives. Uncles and aunts, accordingly, are only taken into the house by their respective nephews and nieces if they themselves are childless.

It is noteworthy that one of the three just-mentioned "distant cousins" set up a little house for himself shortly after the registration date. "He finds that more pleasant," was given as explanation.

If one excludes the group of 9 grandchildren, it seems reasonable, in the case of the 52 remaining persons to ascertain whether they are kinsmen of the man or of his wife. It appears that in 19 of the 52 cases someone lives in the house on the basis of his kin connection to the man, and in 33 cases on the basis of his kinship to the wife. Unless these figures [591] are too small to draw conclusions, a slight preference for living with relatives on the mother's side would seem to be indicated. A similar result was produced by the investigation into marriage residence. At this point, a report on this subject seems in order.

Marriage Residence

462 562 In accordance with the division of labor between the sexes in Makassarese society, the task of providing for the children, preparing the food, the weaving of sarongs and keeping them clean, and all matters which can be done in and around the house fall to the women. House and grounds constitute the woman's domain. Separation of the sexes is very marked.

591 /33 cont./ A matrilocal marriage is not a mandatory prescription. The houses of the parental couples are close to each other; kinship to father and mother are equally valued. On the basis of these facts, the observed tendency to matrilocal marriage remains unexplained. In my opinion, [182 593] the reason is to be found in the relationships obtaining among the members of the family, and especially in the formal, stiff relationship between father and son, which makes it difficult for the latter to conduct himself in an unforced manner in the company of the former (1).

1. See pp. 31, 32.

The beginning of a marriage is frequently difficult (2).

2. See Chapter III, second part.

The parents who /34/ have brought it about and feel responsible for the smooth course of events do everything in their power to make it seem attractive for the young man to move in with his wife. That is not the case if he lives in his father's house. To this is added the fact that the young wife feels most comfortable in her familiar environment, with her mother and little sisters. If she should live elsewhere, it is much more difficult for her to go back to her mother, however small the distance between the houses may be.

182 562 591 593 The strict separation between the sexes, which results in the young women being strongly tied to house and grounds, thus furthers the occurrence of matrilocal marriages as does the stiff relationship between father and son.

635 Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household

Sexual relationships between members of a household who do not belong to the same /nuclear/ family occur more

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that
582 the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

554 /95 cont./ resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
●562 officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
582 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
574 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said, that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely. She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter, because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later have a chance of a better marriage, something which again works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

554 /98 cont./ As regards these ana' tjera', it is immediately
562 apparent that the interests of sons and daughters are distinct.
565 The former are dependent for marriage upon their mother's
582 group, the latter upon their father's group.

Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements

565 Sorokin has pointed to the fact that not only individuals
626 or groups, but even cultural elements may rise or go down (1).

1. P. Sorokin, Social Mobility,
New York and London, 1927,
p. 133.

Each status /stand/ /group/ has its own external characteristics by which its members are differentiated from the others. Forms of social intercourse and clothing, mode of eating and celebrating festivals are the most spectacular of these. The higher groups constantly strive to preserve their own forms for their members. Lower groups constantly strive to take over elements belonging to the members of the higher status, since by this alone their standing rises.

Attempts to adopt their ways is opposed by the higher groups. On the one hand, their adoption is regarded as ridiculous, on the other, it arouses the anger of those higher; sometimes punishment is meted out. Adoption of elements from the highest status is not carried out directly by the lowest of the people, but takes place gradually. First those just below the highest adopt their forms, and so on down. It appears that not only the higher, but sometimes even those lower resist adoption of their forms by another socially lower, that is to say, they fight against a rise in social standing by a competitor.

1:Chabot--188 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

Chapter III

Sex

593 In the chapter concerning kinship, the relationships of the members of the family among each other were treated separately. The relationship of brother to sister occupied a special place in this connection.

Their separation implies that their interests lie in different areas, that is to say, that both their activities as well as the places where they reside are different. These differences also form the pattern for the relationship between men and women in general.

562 The vertical tendency described in the previous chapter demands of the men that they be in a constant relation of opposition to other men. The violent actions and responses [831] that are expected of them go hand in hand with ideas about great sexual potency, which is ascribed to them. The high [157] demands made of men coincide with anxieties about not being able to fulfill these demands. A sense of inadequacy can be observed repeatedly.

157 In the first part of this chapter, modes of conduct, attitudes, and personality norms of the two sexes will be 562 described. After that, a number of inadequacy phenomena will be discussed. Prostitution as an expression of maladjustment on the part of women, and polygamy as an actualization of the vertical tendency by a man with exceptional personal qualities, will be briefly mentioned at the end.

581 In the previous chapter we referred to the central position which marriage occupies in Makassarese society. In the choice of marriage partners, the older people apply standards of selection based upon kinship, status, and personal qualities. They intend to bring about a normal sexual union between man and wife. The description of the marriage

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether
857 it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

857 Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

858 /143 cont./ Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men
562 have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young
855 boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess
858 the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children. They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house. There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate
462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

443 462 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 562 The activities of men and women therefore complement each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless," if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 554 576 571 521 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 562 571 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression. Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

[561 These strict rules do not apply to children and older
858] people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

[689 This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small dagger/, which frequently results in death.

584 /151 cont./ But an atmosphere of intimacy is created pre-
834 cisely because it is forbidden and dangerous. The desire to get married seems to be strengthened by it.

584 The examples described are a number of ways in which young people try to bring about a marriage with a marriage partner chosen by themselves by means of forbidden contacts.

Personality Norms

157 Norms for the personality of men are different from
562 those for women.

A man must be combative and courageous, always ready to challenge someone or to answer a challenge. He must be skillful in debate and a good teller of tall tales. In these stories the emphasis must always be placed on the fact that he, his group, or his prince, did something better than another group or a neighboring prince. In these stories he must also have great success with women and be capable of great sexual achievements. One likes to compare a man to a cock, proud and always ready to do battle. A man is sometimes conceived of as rough. He is always wandering.

562 Man is devoted to woman; he praises her in vague,
539 idealizing terms.
157

Nampa' ri udjung Borinu,	When I had come to the farthest point of your land,
riappa pa'rasangannu	to the remotest point of your land,
nanailalang	then my soul was already in you,
sumangakku, makkaraëng	worshipping you.

157 /152/ The woman must be delicate and tender, shy
562 and withdrawn. She is more devoted to herself. She tries, but as passively as possible, to draw his attention to herself.

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku — My implanted, straight flowers,

539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku — My blooming tjampaga flowers.

Natjiniku ianu — When N. N. sees me

Nadjandjangku mole mole. — He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 157 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 182 554 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in men are at the same time those which they need for success in striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon. Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177 192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het, " /"an 'it' person." -- Ed./.

585 /175 cont./ people attach great significance to the way in which these actions are performed by the young people, because they believe that they can discover from them the person's inclination toward the marriage partner, and upon this in turn they base the further (ritual) measures that must be taken, all of which are geared finally to the "good" union of man and wife.

In addition, little games take place during the festival, in the form of small contests between bride and bridegroom. At the same time, care is always taken that the woman wins. It is said that this is an expression of the wish that later in daily life the wife will be the boss in the house, because a couple is then regarded as happiest (1).

562 593

1. The relationship between man and wife in marriage is aptly characterized by saying that the wife stands on the index finger of the man (bainea ammentengi ri pandjodjona buranea), that is to say, that the wife must do what the man says. In actuality this idea is put into practice only with respect to certain points, for instance, where the siri' feelings play a part. A married man must therefore decide whether a sister or a sister-in-law living in the house with him may go to a festival, whether she may still go to school, and so forth. He may turn away a marriage request. In such matters he has his way. Thereby he feels responsible

562 /175 cont./
593

because, if something should happen, he is the one who would have to take action since he is the protector of the siri'. Therefore, his wife complies with his commands in these matters. But in other respects it is apparent that the woman is the boss in the house, and that the man is content with this situation. When discussions had to be conducted concerning the arrangement of a circumcision festival, the parents of the little boy to be circumcised were still too young to do this completely independently. The man's father indicated the large lines according to which the festival should be held. But he conducted these discussions not with his son but with his daughter-in-law. Only when the arrangement of the festival had been discussed in detail was this communicated to her husband, who now gave his official consent. Whenever man and wife are not agreed as to whether a large festival or a small festival should be held upon the occasion of some event or other, or if the man wants to buy a bicycle for his son while his wife wants to

562 593 /175 cont./ buy clothes, then the latter acts according to her own wishes. At such times the man becomes angry, but he soon comes to accept the situation with the sigh that, after all, these are only unimportant matters. Questions involving siri' are, in his opinion, ultimately the important points, and accordingly he makes sure that these continue to be under his jurisdiction.

585 184 /176/ No two wedding festivals are alike. The respective groups of relatives each have their peculiarities which find expression in details of the ritual. Within one and the same related group, each of the leading personalities leave their stamp both upon the organization of the entire festival, as well as upon the execution of the individual rituals. They show thereby that they can not only follow existing rituals, but also that they can add new rituals to these already existing.

Whoever has gone through several wedding festivals will have been struck by the great differences between them, as well as by the many traits they have in common. In the description that follows here of a number of subelements of the wedding ritual, I have followed, in the main, the notes that I took down at a single festival. In this case I am not striving for completeness. Otherwise the ritual would have had to be described much more fully. Behind each detail there again loom new ones.

585 /194 cont./ become familiar in these common things. The content of twice nine young coconuts are now poured out over them, and the passili ritual is performed on them (1).

1. This bathing festival generally takes place three days after the arrival of the bridegroom in the house of the bride. During almost three times 24 hours, the bridegroom is forbidden to step on the earth outside the house. If he violates this prohibition he is scolded: "Why do you do that? Do we have to become unlucky?"

Thereupon they must "see which of them is the first to have the ground under their feet as they get up from the ladder." Whoever wins will be boss in the house in their marriage. The bridegroom usually runs right across the pannjambungi down the front steps. The bride is quickly carried to her little room where a lump of earth has previously been placed in readiness. It is always declared that the bride has won even though it is practically impossible to ascertain the actual outcome. But nobody is interested in the latter anyway.

After this the couple goes to spend a few days in the bridegroom's house. There festivities again take place, and subsequently they again return to the wife's house.

Being "Good"

Another small family festival takes place there,/in the wife's house/ in conclusion, a week or two after the nikka'. This

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
● [562] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
[626 without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the
558] younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

627 /234 cont./ After the flight of a man with a higher woman, it is practically impossible to bring about a reconciliation (1). In all these cases it was therefore believed that

1. An exceptional case was reported on page 125.

there was a reason for the wife's kin group to feel more than usually siri', and as a consequence reconciliation also took longer than usual.

593 627 The tumasiri' who make the decision in these reconciliation matters that is followed by all kinsmen are the closest male kinsmen, more specifically the father and the (oldest) brother of the woman. In case of a conflict between the two, the father declared in a certain case that he was leaving the matter to his son to regulate. In so doing, he externally maintained his position as leader in the family whom the sons must obey, but in reality it was his son who carried through his wishes. The influence of the woman's 562 593 627 mother and sisters is small in these siri' matters. They are expected not to concern themselves with these things. Siri' matters touch upon life and death; they are men's problems. An older woman may at some point confidentially make the observation to one of the older men that by now surely enough time has passed since the flight, but there is no reason to assume that any notice is taken of such a remark. In these matters women merely furnish their cooperation in subordinate matters such as the filling of the kampu, the baking of the cookies, and the preparation of the feast.

627 602 It is said that after the reconciliation great care is taken that all the wife's kinsmen, thus all the tumasiri', receive a number of the cookies brought by the couple. For whoever has eaten of these cookies can never say later on that he was not in agreement with the reconciliation, and this implies that he will not make an attempt at stabbing during a later encounter

554/571 /241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 612 684 689 [562] It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely delimited group and that the standing of relatives among each other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A [762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

156 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree
833 the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be
838 found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156 Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to
[548] them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this
● [562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition
127 to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

MaKassar OG6
Bali OF7

[96 cont.]
M 582 583 parental [bilateral] or parentage rights system prevails. Nevertheless, the bridegroom still pays a bride price, which here, of course, has nothing of the character of a purchase price for the girl. It is divided, together with other presents, among the M 586 relatives of the bride, who, for their part, also give presents and return a part of the bride price. Divorce is rife, and divorce can be instituted by both the man and the woman. A peculiar institution is the mapoewé awo, "to divide a bamboo into two equal parts," which refers to the [97] distribution of the children between the parents with the understanding that, in the case of divorce and provided the bride price has been paid, the first child, then the third, and so on, go to the M 562 mother, the others to the father. As is always the case with eleutherogamy, the position of women is not lower than that of the men; rule by women is common in southern Celebes.

B 621 631 d. Bali. Among the Balinese the interests of the individual are primarily concentrated in territorial jurisdictional communities, the Balinese dèsa; in former times they were combined into even larger territorial units, not always to their advantage or satisfaction, for example, the former Balinese principalities which were subdivided into districts.

B 592 594 It is noteworthy that neither the family nor the household [gezin, or nuclear family] is a jurisdictional community, in view of the fact that the Balinese have a strong family sense, B [769 778] which expresses itself, for instance, in a veneration for the place from which the family traces its origin. A special temple is erected and pilgrimages are made there for giving offerings. B 631 Only the dèsa, however, the territorial region, is a jurisdictional community, and, besides that, the soebak, the Balinese polder.

B 621 Although one can thus say that the dèsa communities represent the pivot around which the interests of the individual revolve, this must be qualified to apply to the particular situation on Bali.

B [771 174] The whole life of the Balinese is very strongly influenced by his religion, an animism that has been greatly modified by

Mo Batak ODS Molaccas OH1
C Java OE1 Ceram OH9
Bt Malays AN5 Buru OH8
Br Bali OF7 Gorontolo OG6
G
Bu [200 cont.] MaKassar OG6 ● Borneo OC1
805 (about one hour), etc. To indicate very short lengths of time, one speaks of the duration of a betel quid, about a quarter of an hour. These expressions are still used even on Java and among the Malays. The latter say sakapur sirih lamanja = the duration J
MI of a betel quid, and the former say sapanginang, which means
[805] about the same thing.

[201] Chapter 9. Family Life.

a. Birth; b. Twins; c. Abortion;
d. Naming; e Bathing.

a. Birth

I In the first place, we want to examine the principal cus-
842 toms at birth.
562 In general, the native values the possession of children very highly, even to such extent that among many peoples a childless marriage is grounds for divorce. There is nothing more terrible for a married woman than to remain childless. She can be sure that her husband will despise her and her sisters
MH will ridicule her. "Eh! indona = oh, mother of itself," says the
Bt Buginese (1), and the Batak (2) and the Balinese (3) are no less
Bl
842
●562 1. Matthes, Boegineesch Wrdb., see
775 indó.

2. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch Wrdb., see ambala.

3. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T. L. Vk., Vol. XVIII, p. 387.

considerate in this respect. Moreover, the childless woman has

Makassar 066
Bali 0F7
Batak 0D5
Gorontolo 064
Borneo 0c1

Br
Bt [201 cont.]
M to fear a number of horrors in the hereafter; indeed some peoples
842 of the archipelago believe that in hell she must feed a snake at
562 her breast for punishment.
775 In general a son is desired more than a daughter as the first-born, but after that daughters are desired, in particular because of their value in connection with [202] bride price. The
G Alfoer of northern Celebes expresses this very characteristically:
842 "only girls bring in money" (1).

1. Graafland, De Minahassa, Vol. I, p. 301.

Bt
Br
I Infertility is therefore regrettable and is generally ascribed
842 to evil spirits. All kinds of charms and offerings are used to try
776 to render their influence innocuous. Even during pregnancy, how-
775 ever, the woman still has to fear the snares of the evil demons. She therefore zealously gives offerings to them, who bear such names as djata (2) among the Dajak [Dyak], langolan among

2. Hardeland, Dajaksch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, see bararamin.

the Batak, etc. Standing above all of them, however, are the pontianak, the spirits of women who died in childbirth. All the women who have met this fate are pontianak without exception. They are usually imagined as naked and as having the shape of birds, thus, as flying ghosts. Driven by envy, they always and at all times seek to take away from their sisters the joy that they themselves have been deprived of. Various means, primarily offerings, are used to ward off their influence. As well as on the pregnant women, these ghosts also have designs on the men as the beings who can give the joy of motherhood to the women, and particularly on their genitals (3).

3. Wilken, Het Animisme bij de Volken

Atjehnese OB4
Makassar OB6
Borneo OC1

I 643 [387 cont.]
of women. Nevertheless, female rule is not rare in the archipelago. The most remarkable example of it is furnished by the
A 643 562 779 state of Atjeh. In the seventeenth century, for a period of 58 years, Atjeh was ruled by four consecutive sultanas. There were then two parties in Atjeh, an Arabian party, or rather a princes' party, and a national party, which was represented primarily by the orangkaja, members of the state council. It was primarily these orangkaja, who, opposing the efforts of the priests in the Arabian party, were able to perpetuate female rule during all that time, which gave them the opportunity to exercise more unlimited authority and personal influence. After the death of the next to last of these four sultanas, Inâjat Schabi, in 1688, a war broke out between the champions of the national and of the Arabian party. The former wanted to place a princess, Kamalat Schah, on the throne, whereas the latter demanded a sovereign of male sex. The national party, the orangkaja, were victorious, and Princess Kamalat Schah was placed on the throne [388] and upheld. The party of the priests, however, did not remain quiet and 11 years later, in 1699, came forth with a letter from a cadi of Mecca, informing the people of Atjeh that the exercise of legal authority by a woman was in conflict with the laws of Islam. The orangkaja no longer dared to resist. Kamalat Schah was removed and the government was handed over to a prince; since that time no woman has headed the government of Atjeh.
MK 643 562 South Celebes is another country where female rule frequently occurs, indeed is practically the rule. This has always been the case here. Crawfurd even mentioned it as a peculiarity. According to the Government Yearbook, Bone and Tanette are still ruled by female sovereigns, as is Barroe and four of the six states
BR of Adja Tapparang.
I 643 171 562 Women at the head of the government seems to be purely Polynesian. We also find it among the pagan peoples. It has been reported that some Dajak [Dyak] tribes are ruled by women.

B [416 cont.]

565 554 551 Among the Batak, too—as a reminder, they are divided into two standings, the namora-mora and the halak na djadji—the custom of assuming a galar exists. They have probably adopted it from the Malays, although in a different form. The differentiation into galar pusaka and galar muda does not exist here, and there is only one kind, which is like the galar muda and is used with the nama kètè. It also consists of two parts, the title and the description. The usual title is dja, an abbreviation of radja, for example, Dja porkis, Dja langit, etc. The galar here, however, is not limited to the nobility, but is borne by many of the common people, especially by the well-to-do. [417] The namora-mora, and particularly those who are closely related to the sovereign, change the galar in later life, when assuming office, when marrying, etc., for another whose title is baginda, sutan, mangaradja, pertuwan, etc., as follows: Pertuwan sangkupan, Sutan ganga alam, etc. Often two titles are combined, such as Sutan mangaradja, Djona alam, etc. The title of the galar usually stays in the family [geslacht] in the sense that it passes from father to grandson. If the father has the title pertuwan, then his son is not pertuwan, but sutan, the grandson pertuwan, the great-grandson sutan, etc. Persons without a title have si in front of their name.

e. Celebes

MK 565 643 [562] Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the nobility is quite sharply distinguished from the common class. Members of the royal family have the title karaëng among the Makassarese, and arung or patta or opis among the Buginese. Both titles are borne by men and women. The ruling sovereigns, male and female, have such titles, but with the addition of mágaú Bug. and mangkaú Mak., thus, karaëng mágaú and arung mangkaú. Princes and princesses of high birth who may be considered for the succession are called patola instead of karaëng or arung. There is a

MK [554]

Timor OF20
Moluccas OH1
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Minangkabau OD10
Malays AN5
Tagalog OA36

MI MK MR I BK 774 754 753 761 [558 cont.] sleepers. These spirits bear various names. Among the Malays of Sumatra they are called palasib or, according to Minangkabau pronunciation, pălăsiĕq; among the Batak, palasik; and elsewhere in Malayan lands, penanggalan. Among the Dajak in particular the belief in these spirits plays an important role. They are called hantuen, and in nearly every region of the southeastern division there are persons who are suspected of being hantuen. Naturally, there is great abhorrence of marriage with such a person. It is said, however, that such marriages sometimes occur, because one does not always know. If it is regarded as proved that someone is a hantuen, then he is put to death with the greatest tortures. Among the Buginese these spirits are called paeppo, among the Makassarese popokang. Among these peoples, they are exclusively women. If a woman is thought to be such at the court, she is immediately reduced to slavery and sentenced to pounding kemiri nuts all day long every day, which is a means of preventing her nightly wanderings.

MK [562 681]

T MD Tm 754 761 753 774 The belief in these beings also exists in the eastern part of the archipelago, in the Moluccas and on Timor. They are called suwangi or swangi here. Especially when a ruler dies, a swangi is often blamed for it. The person accused of being the swangi [559] is put to death and his relatives are made slaves. Among the Tagalog on Luzon, who believe in these spirits, they are called magtatankal.

g. Pontianak

MD I 755 [845] Another spirit that is generally feared is the pontianak, the name of the spirits of women who died before delivery. Every woman who dies in childbed becomes a pontianak. They generally show themselves in the form of a bird and are therefore flying ghosts. These pontianak who could not enjoy motherhood before their confinement, begrudge that of their sisters and always try to harm pregnant women. It is not pregnant women

MD I [843]

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community] Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs (check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
363 pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself, going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the entering road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It appeared that most of the houses were located along the roads. I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not placed too close together so that the air could come up into the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e., of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
● 562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands. Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation from time to time. However, she did sit at another table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 502●
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197]
words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaëng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114]
in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

000

123 512 ● 562 As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 177 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was varicolored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions. 000 [838] 304 881 574 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them. 565 562

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f. 50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts. 527 574 548 435 567 535

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident. 554 565

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank] 178 466 622 565

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast. 533

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pang-kadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as langa, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562●
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
● 562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
merly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C.[pro- 178
bably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main 562
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 591
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 611
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [598]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622] [178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
585 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
831 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead-pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the simple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face toward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Mohammedan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living children per woman was three, but that the average number of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average number who die to each woman is two. They say there has been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not much if any difference according to class. This I do notice, that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex] (and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or someone else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional pair coming from school together, but this is carried out for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

562 584 883 181 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble, criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch manners the latter appear as very strange. He also remarked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 581 834 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely, there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

836 848 562

585 591 182 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 567 178 As for social classes, they say there has been little change, except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-]day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India. 793 838 548 535 [791] 212 171

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example. 181

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc. 795 829

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar. 764 562● 178 554 782 796

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They 517 546

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The Land of the Walking-Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside. 517 181 167 186

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is general and there is not much to say. The death punishment is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway. 178 681 796 805 [241]

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f. 25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned 574 852 [562] 176 874 401 403

Regarding sex, Thierens said that the extreme repression of it and the lack of open relations of a social sort between boys and girls here causes a high rate of homosexuality among boys. He said that nearly all boys are so. This may also link with the wandu custom, or at least the prostitute part of it. The boys are used to homosexual practice in youth, and like it. Also, perhaps the women, so bound by adat, are cold. Thus the homosexuals may be an attraction. The whole dead business has paralyzed these people even down to the simple sex matter. I remember the homosexual practices in Bontorio. But that was in the court, where there were girls. Maybe even there it was hard to get girls, and there may have been little in the way of social relationships. I remember that Bontorio had to get his slave girls on the sly. That is what Andi said, things must be kept in the dark. M 831 838 181 154

In regard to the Toala and the To Patuntung, I went to Soppeng on Sunday. We took one route down and another one back. It is in a rather mountainous section but Soppeng itself is a large and attractive town. On the way we could see the remoteness of many of the people here, even those on the road. In Soppeng I met Denzo, the Christian leader. He is young and good looking, much like Lethe in type and manners. His family comes from Saleier, but also from Bone. He was born in Saleier. He was baptized in 1937 although coming from a Mohammedan family. His mother is also a Christian and so is at least one sibling. He said that this resulted in some trouble with his father. By 1939, he had 800 Christians. During the Japanese time this number shot up to 2,000 and now he has about 3,000. This is the only place in the Buginese country where there are Christians. He has a church which is a part of the Protestant Church of Indonesia. But it is not a mission proper. He said that he converted from all classes, including at least one high fellow. He said that there are more women than men which did surprise me. I asked him how to approach women. He said that one must first ask the man. If the man is converted, then one can work on the woman, and usually the whole family becomes Christian. But one may not talk to the woman without the man's consent. Denzo said there was some trouble with the radja and with the nobles and with the fanatic Mohammedans. But after a while there was not so much trouble because they found out the Christians did not break up the adat and so they could not be too bad. Again we see the point that adat comes first, the Mohammedan practices being secondary. M 797 562 M [576] M [181]

Then I asked about the To Patuntung. He said there are not so many of them. They are ten kilometers walk south of C 563

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

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The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

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Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

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• Makassar OG6
Java OE1
Celebes OG1

holds the title to it usually has no claim to reimbursement for the use of it; not even if there is a later divorce.

Statements are frequently made about marriage property in terms of the burden of proof in case of controversy: "the possessions are owned in common, unless it is proved that the wife does not do the housekeeping." This may have a confusing effect. Actually, the determination of burden rests on the question of what is normal. And what is in conflict with the normal must be proved in each particular instance.

While the marriage continues, the spouses each deal with the common possessions within his or her normal sphere. In the case of important transactions, they sometimes act together. But if the husband takes action, the consent of the wife is presupposed and the act is valid, even though he has not consulted her. If, however, the wife should openly oppose one act or another, then the husband cannot act alone, save in case of necessity. Third parties have to take this into account. The same thing is true in the incurring of debts. Obligations entered into by the husband or wife must be met as family obligations through utilization of their common property. Such debts are recoverable from this property, and if their joint property is inadequate, the "asal" possessions of the person who incurred the debt must be used. In Macasser, "asal" (sisila-) property may even be set aside for joint debts, in preference to the common property. But the "asal" possessions of a deceased person cannot be so used. If a husband or wife should have individual debts, such as premarital debts, then those debts are recoverable, in the first place, from the "asal" property of the party concerned, and, in the second place, from the common property in its entirety. There is no such thing as an undivided share of the husband or of the wife in the common property during the marriage. Therefore, seizure of an undivided share for the collection of a debt is an absurdity, according to adat law principles and practice. While a marriage exists, the estate cannot be divided against the will of the parties concerned.

Division of marital property comes into play primarily in case of dissolution of marriage. If it is not evident that one of the spouses has so misbehaved that every claim to a part of the possessions has been forfeited, or that the wife relinquished her share as indemnification for repudiation (pages 181, 183), each of the spouses usually takes his or her "asal" possessions and possibly his or her share in the common matrimonial property. This common